

1964

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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effect July 1. Sugar prices soften as a result of a bumper beet crop. Some foreign farm commodities are likely to decline, too. Coffee prices are threatened by a possible boost in export quotas, which would swell shipments from Brazil's reserve stock.

The cost of goods and services farmers buy keeps rising, cutting farm purchasing power to the lowest point since 1939.

The net impact on farmers is that the cost-price squeeze is now as bad as it was in the late depression years and that farm income in 1964, in spite of record high payments, is going to drop.

These are the facts and figures, Mr. Speaker, in spite of the glowing figures of farm prosperity being put out by the Johnson administration.

(Mr. NELSEN (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. NELSEN'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

A CAPTAIN'S LAST LETTERS FROM VIETNAM

(Mr. MICHEL (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the May 1, 1964, issue of U.S. News & World Report carried the very illuminating story of one of our pilots, the late Edwin Gerald Shank, Jr., and his role in the fighting in South Vietnam. The fact that Captain Shank lost his life while piloting a T-28 raises a number of serious questions. The T-28 is really nothing more than an unarmed trainer.

I am aware, of course, that under the Geneva accord there can be only replacement of current implements of war and fears have been raised that the war might escalate if we replace these obsolete planes with up-dated jet fighters. Personally I think it absolutely absurd to be sending our highly skilled and trained airmen, soldiers, and sailors into any area of armed conflict without the very best and most advanced equipment available. It would seem to me very appropriate for the Armed Services Committee of the House to probe this matter thoroughly and give the American people an accounting of just what is going on in South Vietnam. It is quite obvious that even with Defense Secretary McNamara practically commuting from Washington to South Vietnam the real facts are being withheld from the American people. It is indeed unfortunate that we must get the true picture only from enterprising reporters on the scene, or from the publishing of excerpts of one Capt. Edwin Gerald Shank, Jr.'s letters back home to his wife and children.

Captain Shank was born June 21, 1936, in the small farming community of Winamac, Ind., where he attended grade school, high school, and then went on to Notre Dame where he graduated in 1959. He became a Reserve officer and was called to active duty in the Air Force in

August of 1959 and was later assigned to South Vietnam as a pilot of a T-28 trainer. Captain Shank is survived by his wife, a son, and three daughters. His last daughter he never saw. Captain Shank at 27 was killed while flying an air strike against the Communists on March 24, 1964, and I include the article appearing in U.S. News & World Report at this point in the Record:

"WE ARE LOSING, MORALE IS BAD—IF THEY WOULD GIVE US GOOD PLANES"

(Air Force Capt. "Jerry" Shank is dead—a combat casualty of the war in Vietnam. While he lived and fought "Jerry" Shank wrote to his wife and family in Indiana every chance he got—sometimes twice a day. Those letters make up a moving battle diary of a war in which more than 15,000 Americans are fighting and dying in combat against the Communists. Excerpts from his letters are presented here with the permission of his widow. All references, by name, to his Air Force companions have been eliminated to spare them any possible embarrassment.)

November 14, 1963: We are using equipment and bombs from WW2 (meaning World War II) and it is not too reliable. This is an interesting place here. Everybody works together, officers and enlisted. We are out there lifting bombs and such. Every possible time, we give the men a chance to ride. On a test hop or something like that—it gives them a little motivation. We cannot take them on missions, because we have to have our VNAF (Vietnamese Air Force) student pilot along.

We 23 Air Force run the whole T-28 war in the Mekong Delta. This will give you some idea of Uncle Sam's part in the war.

November 22, 1963: Been real busy with the armament job—really makes a day go fast. Got all kinds of problems—cannot get parts or books or charts describing the different bombs and systems. The Air Force has not used any of this equipment since Korea, and everybody seems to have lost the books. The main problem is personnel—no good officers or NCO's over here that really know their business. Most of them are out of SAC (Strategic Air Command) and have dealt only with nuclear weapons. This does not apply over here; what we need is someone from World War II. Some days it is like beating your head against a brick wall.

November 27, 1963: Sunday all hell broke loose with the Vietcong [Communist Vietcong guerrillas]. We had a big airborne operation against them—both choppers and parachutes. I woke up at 4:30 to fly my first night attack—darker than hell. * * * By 9 o'clock in the morning we had launched 12 sorties, which is a lot for our little operation. The Vietcongs got one chopper and one B-26 that day, but we (T-28's) hurt them bad. There is far more detail to this, but I do not want to put it in a letter.

I am up to 20 missions now and am real confident in myself. I do good work, I feel like a veteran and I feel like a different man. I think I am older.

I have changed my opinion about the Vietcong. They are not ornery little fellows. They are mean, vicious, well-trained veterans. They are killers and are out to win. Although this is called a "dirty little war" and it is far from the shores of old U.S.A., it is a big, mean war. We are getting beat. We are undermanned and undergunned. The United States may say they are in this, but they do not know we need help over here.

If the United States would really put combat people in here we could win and win fast. It seems to be the old story of a half-hearted effort.

December 4, 1963: I have debated for a week and a half now over telling you of Black Sunday—November 24, 1963, I am going to

tell you and, if you do not want to hear about these things again, well, say so. You do have a right to know.

This was not a typical day. We flew 20 sorties. But the Vietcong hurt us bad. All in all that day, 23 airplanes were hit, 1 B-26 crew lost their lives, 3 choppers crashed. The Vietcong won.

What they had done was pull into the little village and commit their usual atrocities, then pull out. But all they had were small arms and rifles on them. So headquarters thought they would teach this little group of Vietcongs a lesson and sent this operation I spoke of in after them.

But the crafty little b—s withdrew from the town into foxholes and bunkers and hiding places they had been secretly building for a week. Also, they had many friends in there plus large antiaircraft guns and all sorts of machineguns. So when the first wave of troops went in, they thought it was just a routine chase of Vietcongs. But they soon ran against the Vietcong wall and we pilots soon discovered that they had more weapons than pistols and homemade guns. Shrewd plan—and they won.

We could have won but I could write a chapter on that. I hope you were able to follow that, Connie. A lot happened that day and it happened fast and furious. It's not a good thing to tell a wife, but she has to know—no one else will say it—no one else can or will, I guess. There are no heroes over here but there are a lot of fine men—America better not let us down. We can use help. We can win, but America must come over, for the Vietnamese will never hack it alone. We've either got to get in all the way, or get out. If we get out the Vietcong will be in Saigon the next day.

December 14, 1963: I do get a kick out of the Vietnamese people. They're poor, dirty, and unsanitary according to our standards, but they're happy and some are hard working.

December 16, 1963: The Vietcongs [Communist guerrillas] sure gave them a rough time.

The Vietcong are kind of a Mafia. They terrorize and then they sell "insurance" so that the people will not be harmed again. They strike especially villages where Americans have been seen. They terrorize these villages and then blame it on Americans by saying, "If Americans hadn't come to your village, we would not have plundered and killed, so if you don't want it to happen again, pay us money and don't let Americans into your village."

So you see, they gain from this. First of all, they get money or food; secondly, they instill a dislike for Americans—dirty b—s. But I do like the Vietnamese I've met and talked to. They are friendly, happy, and childlike—good people.

December 21, 1963: We got a briefing today of the total result of that operation on November 24. I'll repeat it briefly.

The airpower got credit for 150 to 200 killed. No one can be sure of the amount, for the Vietcong carry off all their dead and wounded. They never let you know for sure how bad you hurt them.

Anyway there were approximately 700 Vietcongs dug in with three 50-caliber antiaircraft guns and three 30-caliber antiaircraft guns, plus many hundreds other machineguns. They were waiting for us, but we hurt them even though we lost. We lost because we had them trapped and they got away.

It's so mixed up over here—there are over 3,000 Air Force in Vietnam, yet there are only 50 combat crews (B-26 and T-28). What a ridiculous ratio. Also, the Army tried to show the Air Force is no good and vice versa. Ridiculous. Down at Soc Trang, Army and Air Force will die for each other, but up with the colonels and generals it's a big fight for power. And most of these idiots don't even have any idea of what it's like out

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in combat. . . . They're trying now to find out why we pick up so many hits. The dumb b-----s. We get hit more now because the Vietcong have very fine weapons. There are Chinese over here now.

I think the next few months will tell. Either the Vietcong will quit or this will turn into another Korea. I hope it doesn't take the United States too long to realize this.

December 22, 1963: Flew another mission today. We escorted three trains across no-man's land and then struck some Vietcongs. Our FAD (the guy in the L-19 who tells us where to hit) received three hits, but we got them. I'm credited with destroying a 50-caliber antiaircraft gun. Bombed him out of this world. I guess I'm a true killer. I have no sympathy and I'm good. I don't try to rationalize why I do it. No excuses. It's a target and I hit it with the best of my skill. It's a duel; only (I repeat) only the best man wins. You can't afford to be second.

December 30, 1963: Well, here goes. I got shot down yesterday. We were escorting a C-123 and I picked up three slugs in my airplane. One went into my fuel strainer and I lost all my fuel. I made it to a field called Pan Tho and landed safely. Me and the airplane are both okay, not a scratch except the three bullet holes. No sweat.

January 8, 1964: Down at Soc Trang, one of the airmen came up with the idea of putting chunks of charcoal in our napalm tanks. Napalm is a gasoline which is jelled into a mass about the consistency of honey. We carry two tanks of it, each weighing 500 pounds. When you drop it, it ignites and spreads fire about 200 to 300 feet. With charcoal in it, the charcoal is thrown about another 200 feet farther, like a burning baseball, and does further damage to Vietcong houses. We've had it at Soc Trang and it works real well.

Tomorrow three birds are going out with one-half of their load of straight napalm and the other half with charcoal napalm (Madame Nhu cocktails). A photo ship is going along to take pictures. If higher headquarters thinks it's all right, then they'll buy us the charcoal. So far we've been buying it ourselves or else "borrowing" it from the kitchen.

January 7, 1964: Morale's at a big low over here, especially among the combat crews. It's the same old stuff we got in MATS. No consideration for the crew.

Lost two guys today. One was a pretty good friend of mine. The only guess is—the airplane just came apart. B-26—third or fourth that have done that now. . . . Pretty bad day—just hard to find any good news to write. Can't even talk to anybody—nobody has anything to say. Just a blue day.

I don't know what the United States is doing. They tell you people we're just in a training situation and they try to run us as a training base. But we're at war. We are doing the flying and fighting. We are losing. Morale is very bad.

We asked if we couldn't fly an American flag over here. The answer was "No." They say the Vietcong will get pictures of it and make bad propaganda. Let them. Let them know America is in it.

If they'd only give us good American airplanes with the U.S. insignias on them and really tackle this war, we could possibly win. If we keep up like we are going, we will definitely lose. I'm not being pessimistic. It's so obvious. How our Government can lie to its own people—it's something you wouldn't think a democratic government could do. I wish I were a prominent citizen or knew someone who could bring this before the U.S. public. However, if it were brought before the average U.S. family, I'm sure all they'd do is shake their heads and say "tch-tch" and tune in another channel on the TV.

January 9, 1964. Had a good target today finally. Felt like I really dealt a blow to

the Vietcong. On my second bomb I got a secondary explosion. This means after my bomb exploded there was another explosion. It was either an ammo dump or a fuel-storage area. Made a huge burning fireball. You really can't tell when you roll in on a pass what is in the huts and trees you are aiming at. Just lucky today, but I paid them back for shooting me down.

January 15, 1964. Another B-26 went in yesterday. Nobody made it out. A couple of guys I knew pretty well "bought the farm."

One of the new guys busted up a 28 (T-28) also yesterday. He thought he had napalm on but he had bombs. So at 50 feet above the ground he dropped a bomb. It almost blew him out of the sky. But he limped back to Bien Hoa and crashlanded. The airplane burned up, but he got out all right.

That news commentary you heard is absolutely correct—if we don't get in big, we will be pushed out. I am a little ashamed of my country. We can no longer save face over here, for we have no face to save.

We are more than ever fighting this war. The Vietnamese T-28's used to come down here to Soc Trang and fly missions. But lately, since we've been getting shot so much, they moved up north. I kid you not. First they didn't want to come to Soc Trang because their families couldn't come. Second, because they didn't get enough per diem [additional pay]. Third, because they didn't want to get shot at. There were a couple of more reasons, but I can't remember them. These are the people we're supposed to be helping. I don't understand it.

January 20, 1964: I have never been so lonely, unhappy, disappointed, frustrated in my whole life. None of these feelings are prevalent above the other. I guess I should say loneliness overshadows the others, but that's really not true.

I am over here to do the best job possible for my country—yet my country will do nothing for me or any of my buddies or even for itself. I love America. My country is the best, but it is soft and has no guts about it at all.

I'm sure nothing will be done over here until after the elections. Why? Because votes are more important than my life or any of my buddies' lives. What gets me the most is that they won't tell you people what we do over here. I'll bet you that anyone you talk to does not know that American pilots fight this war. We—me and my buddies—do everything. The Vietnamese students we have on board are airmen basics. The only reason they are on board is in case we crash there is one American adviser and one Vietnamese student. They're stupid, ignorant sacrificial lambs, and I have no use for them. In fact, I have been tempted to whip them within an inch of their life a few times. They're a menace to have on board.

January 26, 1964: I've done almost nothing all week. I needed the rest very badly. I actually think I was getting battle fatigue or whatever you call it. I've got 50 missions, almost all without any kind of a break, and it was telling on my nerves and temper. I feel real good today after all that sleep. I kinda hate to go to work tomorrow, for we start 2 weeks of combat again. But I'm rested for it now and am ready.

January 31, 1964 All you read in the paper is the poor leadership of the Vietnamese, but we are just as bad. Everyone over here seems to be unqualified for his job. Like me—I'm a multipilot, but I'm flying TAC fighters. We have no fighter pilots in our outfit. I'm not complaining, but, if the Air Force was serious, they would have sent over experienced fighter people. The same on up the line.

February 2, 1964: I'm getting to like Vietnam. Maybe I didn't say that right. I think it is a pretty country. These little villages in the delta are about as picturesque as you'll find. Tall palm trees, fields of rice,

and all kinds of flowers. The people seem happy enough, if it wasn't for the terror of Vietcong raids.

February 6, 1964: We scrambled after a fort under attack. We hit and hit good, but it got dark so we headed up here for Bien Hoa. Pretty hot target and we both were hit. Coming in here to Bien Hoa they warned us that Vietcong were shooting at airplanes on final approach. Well, we made a tight, fast approach and held our lights (it was pitch black) until almost over the end of the runway. I forgot my landing gear and went skidding in a shower of sparks down the runway. Airplane's not hurt too bad. I'm not even scratched. My pride is terribly wounded. That was my 62d mission. I thought I had it "wired" after that much combat experience. Then I go and goof so badly.

February 17, 1964: All B-26's are grounded, so we are the only strike force left.

A B-26 crashed at Hurlburt last week. Another came with the wind just coming off. Finally the Air Force is worried about the airplanes—finally, after six of my friends have "augered in."

February 21, 1964: Tuesday evening — got shot down. He fell in his airplane next to a Special Forces camp and got out without a scratch. The airplane burned completely up, though. [Another airman] was going in on his seventh strafing pass and never came out of it. Don't know what happened—whether he got shot or his controls shot out. That was two airplanes in 2 days. Kind of shook us up.

Not only that, the B-26's have been grounded since Monday because the wings came off one again at Hurlburt. So after the last crash the whole USAF fighter force is down to six airplanes. This should set an example of how much Uncle Sam cares. Six airplanes. Might as well be none.

Rumor now is that B-26's will fly again only with great restrictions. . . . I'm pretty well fed up. Poor B-26 jocks are really shook. That airplane is a killer.

February 24, 1964: We're down to five airplanes now, all of them at Soc Trang. We have actually got nine total, but four are out of commission because of damage. The B-26's aren't flying yet, but they've been more or less released. I don't know what United States is going to do, but whatever it is I'm sure it's wrong. Five airplanes can fight the war—that's just ridiculous. Tell this to my dad. Let him know, too, how much the country is letting everyone down. . . . We fight and we die but no one cares. They've lied to my country about us.

February 29, 1964: We've got a new general in command now and he really sounds good. Sounds like a man who is out to fight and win. He's grounded the B-26's except for a few flights. But they have to level bomb, not dive bomb—no strain for the aircraft that way. He has ordered B-57's (bomber-jets) to replace them, and has asked for immediate delivery. He has also demanded they replace the T-28's with the AD-6. The AD-6 is a much more powerful single-engine dive bomber. It was designed for this type of work and has armor plating. We are pretty excited about all the new airplanes. We can really do good work with that kind of equipment.

March 13, 1964: McNamara (Secretary of Defense) was here, spent his usual line, and has gone back home to run the war with his screwed-up bunch of people. We call them "McNamara's band." I hope and pray that somehow this man does something right pretty soon.

Just one thing right will help immensely. He did send a representative over here. All he did was make the troops sore.

One of our complaints was that we can't understand the air controller, so he suggested that we learn Vietnamese. We said we didn't have that much time, so he sug-

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gested we stay here for 2 years. A brilliant man. He's lucky to be alive. Some of the guys honestly had to be held back from beating this idiot up. This man McNamara and his whole idiot band will cause me not to vote for Johnson no matter how much I like his policies.

McNamara is actually second in power to Johnson. But, as a military man, he finishes a definite and decided last—all the way last.

Rumors are fast and furious. Nothing yet on B-57's. Rumors that B-26's are all rigged up with extra fuel tanks for long overwater flights. B-26 should never fly again, even if rejuvenated. Also a rumor that B-26 pilots will get instruction in the A-1H—another single-engine dive bomber. All is still in the air—all rumors.

March 22, 1964: Been flying pretty heavy again. We've only got 20 pilots now and 11 airplanes. It keeps us pretty busy. Also got two more airplanes they're putting together in Saigon, so we'll soon be back up to 13 airplanes again. Hope these last for a while.

(That was Captain Shank's last letter. He was killed in combat 2 days later.)

REPRESENTATIVE GENE SNYDER PRAISED

(Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I like to call to the attention of the House a fine article which appeared in the Voice of St. Matthews, a weekly newspaper in St. Matthews, Ky. It commended our colleague, Representative GENE SNYDER, for his outspoken courage in addressing himself to the issues of the days despite threats or possibilities of personal defeat at the polls. We need more men like Representative GENE SNYDER.

The article follows:

SNYDER DOESN'T FEAR LABOR BRASS THIS YEAR

It isn't surprising that the Louisville Central Labor Council has already announced its intentions to help defeat Third District Congressman GENE SNYDER.

His conservative record, as are all conservative records, is repugnant to the labor union. The union fought the former first district magistrate tooth and toenail in his initial bid for the representative seat, and it can be expected to do so this year, and more so.

The fact that has been so hard for such extreme liberal partisans, as the council, to swallow is that SNYDER, though just a country boy, has been more effective at his Washington post than most people dreamed he would be as a freshman Representative.

It can be said with some authority that Congress this year didn't just happen to drastically cut foreign aid appropriations. It took men like SNYDER, who kept an ear open to their constituents, and who got their points across on the floor, to effect a reduced appropriation.

Liberals haven't liked this, for they still believe that there is such a thing as pie in the sky. Most people now are learning differently, and are leaning more to views similar to SNYDER's.

Of course, SNYDER isn't worried at all—that the local labor union has already announced against him. He got a large share of the membership vote 2 years ago, and he will do even better this time.

It is surprising that top labor officials still believe they can lead their members by the nose.

(Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. ASHBROOK'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

BE FAIR, MR. BLATNIK

(Mr. STAFFORD (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in placing the following editorial from the distinguished trade publication Engineering News-Record in the RECORD:

BE FAIR, MR. BLATNIK

The Highway Investigating Subcommittee headed by Representative JOHN D. BLATNIK, Democrat, of Minnesota, has announced plans to stage another round of hearings. This time the target will be alleged misdoings in Louisiana's Federal-aid roads.

It is now almost 4 years since the Blatnik subcommittee began its investigations. The first hearing dealt with the Skelly bypass near Tulsa, Okla. Subsequently, the subcommittee has probed highway affairs in other States.

The subcommittee's activity to date has had several effects. For one, the Bureau of Public Roads and the various State highway departments have been forced to tighten controls over materials, construction procedures, right-of-way takings and other phases of their work. In this respect, the investigations have been beneficial.

On the other hand, by focusing attention on the comparatively minor number of misdoings (as compared with the tremendous amount of work being done honestly and well) the subcommittee has provided ammunition for widespread, vicious attacks on the highway program in the national press and on national television. In this way, the subcommittee's actions have served to undermine public confidence in the highway program.

Also, these subcommittee hearings can be unnecessarily, cruelly damaging in their effect on individuals involved. In the Tulsa case, the Blatnik group—over the protests of at least one of its members at the time, Representative GORDON SCHERER, Republican, of Ohio—called before it the principals in the contracting firm of A. H. Layman & Sons. The Laymans were under a total of 21 indictments by an Oklahoma grand jury, so spokesman Andrew H. Layman, Jr., had no choice but to take the fifth amendment at a time when it was especially embarrassing and unpopular to do so. When later the Laymans finally came to trial in Oklahoma, the judge quickly quashed every charge against them. But by that time, barred from bidding on Federal-aid projects and suspect for its refusal to testify before the Blatnik committee, the Layman organization, which had been highly respected by engineers and contractors in Oklahoma, was no more.

The Blatnik subcommittee can perform a useful function. The function will be enhanced if it will avoid sensationalism, leave partisan politics to some other arena and place its findings in proper perspective.

J. EDGAR HOOVER

(Mr. BROTZMAN (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add a word regarding Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI.

Just prior to being elected to this body I had the pleasure of serving as U.S. attorney for Colorado. In that capacity, I worked closely with Mr. Hoover, Mr. Scott Werner, the agent in charge in Colorado, and numerous agents in the Bureau.

These are dedicated, sincere, Americans and I commend J. Edgar Hoover who has given his life to the cause of law enforcement with justice.

I thank the gentleman from Louisiana for introducing this resolution.

MR. HOOVER AND HIS FBI

(Mr. WYMAN (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with his many friends throughout the United States and the world in congratulating the distinguished head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, on his four decades of outstanding leadership.

Under Mr. Hoover's direction the FBI has become a vital, efficient, highly capable, and most effective nonpartisan Federal investigating agency. It is a great team—no gestapo, no storm troops, no pomp and circumstance, just dedicated, hardworking, loyal, and courageous Americans.

As attorney general of my State for nearly a decade and as president of the National Association of Attorneys General I have had good reason to know personally of the cooperation and helpfulness of Mr. Hoover in the common areas of interest and concern in law enforcement of the States and the Federal Government. This country could well use a little more of such cooperation these days.

The United States has good reason to be proud of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI he has developed. We are each of us a little safer and the country a whole lot better off because of Mr. Hoover and his FBI.

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS EDITORIALIZES ON HEARINGS OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(Mr. PILLION (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, on April 29 and 30, 1964, the Committee on Un-American Activities, of the House of Representatives—HUAC—held hearings in the city of Buffalo. The purpose of these hearings is to investigate the un-American propaganda and agitational activities within the United States. The diffusion of subversive propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries which attack our constitutional Government and seek to overthrow our Government by force, violence or revolution,

is also the subject of this committee's hearings.

The ultimate legislative objective is to enable the House of Representatives to appraise the administration and the efficacy of our present laws. The hearings also serve to develop facts upon which remedial legislation can be predicated.

Of greater import than the legislative purpose of these hearings is the exposure to the public of the sinister, underground operations of the Marx-Lenin Communist and Socialist world revolutionary destructionists.

To successfully defend this Nation and our freedoms, we must comprehend not only the theories of communism, but also know the tactics and methods by which these enemies carry on their subterranean war. The public is entitled to know not only the nature of the Communist activities, but also the identity of its directors, its membership and its supporters.

The hearings in Buffalo revealed that there has been an extensive network of Communist infiltration and subversive activities in the Buffalo area. The hearings also flushed out into the open hundreds of individuals who sought to disrupt the hearings of this congressional committee in accordance with the policies and directives of the Communist Party in the United States.

The Communist Party, U.S.A. recognizes that the worst enemies of communism are truth and exposure.

The Buffalo Evening News is one of the world's outstanding newspapers. It has the largest daily circulation of any New York State newspaper outside of New York City. Its circulation covers all of western New York, and extends into Canada and Pennsylvania.

The Buffalo Evening News gave full coverage to the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, held in the city of Buffalo, on April 29 and 30, 1964. Its reporting was accurate, complete and in the best tradition of American journalism.

The management and the staff of the Buffalo Evening News are to be commended for performing a most valuable public service.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert, at this point in the Record, two editorials from the Buffalo Evening News. These editorials reflect the sound judgment and the high standards of patriotism and public service that has been characteristic of the editorial staff of the Buffalo Evening News, headed by its editor, Mr. Alfred Kirchhofer.

The editorials follow:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Apr. 30, 1964]

PREJUDGING THE HCUA

Just the name of the House Committee on Un-American Activities seems enough to trigger a picket line response—an almost visceral reaction, especially on the part of students and others whose intellectual curiosity, one might think, would impel them to want to know more precisely what they are protesting against, or for, before they move to the emotional barricades.

Take yesterday's HCUA subcommittee hearing in Buffalo. Hardly anyone seemed to want to know what, exactly, the commit-

tee had come here to learn. That it was here was enough to cause its friends to cheer it as a mighty bulwark of patriotism, its foes to decry it as an enemy of civil liberties. Sides were taken, statements issued, ads published, pickets marched, throngs clamored for entry to the courtroom to demonstrate in person.

And all this took place before the committee had said what it was here for, before the first witness was summoned. Many of the committee's opponents, to be sure, have been campaigning for years for its abolition, feeling its very existence serves no legitimate legislative purpose and constitutes a threat to fundamental individual freedoms. That such groups would use the occasion of the committee's presence in Buffalo to reiterate their views is natural and should be respected.

When such opposition extends to prejudging this particular hearing, however, or when it involves an assumption that the committee is only here to pillory good citizens and engage in reckless character assassination, it discredits its own pretensions to intellectuality.

At the least, the committee was entitled to a withholding of judgment until it performed some act for which it could be rightly criticized. Its performance can be better judged when the hearings are concluded. But for our part, we see no reason to quarrel with its stated purpose. And we suggest that those who denounce the committee in general might be more persuasive if they directed their attentions to that stated purpose and indicated which part of it, if any, they feel is none of Congress—or the public's—proper business.

The HCUA subcommittee has come here, it says, because of significant changes in the structure of the U.S. Communist movement, which it has reason to believe had their inception here in Buffalo.

Specifically, it declares, its preliminary investigations indicate that "in this city, within recent years, there have sprung up two new Communist organizations known as the Workers World Party (an offshoot of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party) and the Progressive Labor Movement (a Peiping-oriented offshoot of the Communist Party).

The second group appears to be the one in which the HCUA is currently most interested. For, if it is correct, the Progressive Labor Movement as organized here in Buffalo by two functionaries expelled from the orthodox State Communist Party has grown into the principal apparatus of the ultra-militant Chinese Communist movement in America, with present headquarters in New York.

Most of the 50-odd students who visited Cuba last summer were members of this Buffalo-spawned group, the committee statement alleges, and "it is significant that while in Cuba the group visited the Red Chinese Embassy, but ignored the Soviet Embassy."

What useful information can be learned about these matters from hostile witnesses summoned to a public hearing is not yet clear. Nor should we ever be unmindful of the danger that individuals can be unfairly damaged by careless name dropping or unwarranted innuendoes in the course of such an inquiry.

But as to the stated purpose of this hearing the House committee thinks it is the business of Congress and the public to know everything that can be learned about the objectives, methods, and organizational structure of the U.S. Communist Party and its various offshoots. And so do we.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, May 1, 1964]

HCUA: A SIZING UP

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has come and gone, and with what results?

1. Its Buffalo hearing was certainly no witch hunt. It was conducted by Acting Chairman JOR R. POOL, Democrat, of Texas, with impeccable regard for proper congressional procedure and for the constitutional rights of all those summoned to testify. There was no abuse of hostile witnesses; on the contrary, all the abuse and disorder and indignity in the hearing itself came from those bent on discrediting the committee.

2. As a quest for new information, the public hearing aspect of the investigation probably told the HCUA nothing it did not already know. For everything it heard from its one friendly witness it presumably knew before, and from every other witness it drew the same fifth amendment blank.

3. As a means of alerting the community to the present nature of the Communist movement—its objectives, its structure and tactics, and its internal fissions—the committee performed a legitimate and useful service. Both in its statement of purpose and in the persistent relevance to that purpose of its line of questioning of the balking witnesses who had all been identified by at least one witness as belonging to the Communist movement, it gave thoughtful people in this community much to ponder.

4. As for serving a legitimate legislative purpose, this Buffalo hearing opened up at least one explicit new area which requires serious and immediate congressional attention. Our present Federal laws on internal security are replete with references to the Communist Party U.S.A. as part of a world conspiracy controlled from Moscow.

The question raised here is whether that premise still holds with respect to those Communists who have been expelled from the orthodox Moscow-directed party and have switched their primary allegiance to Peiping. The point is a particularly important one for Congress to inform itself about, for the splinter factions—especially those adhering to Mao in his struggle with Khrushchev—are generally more violent, radical, and overtly dangerous than the Moscow-disciplined party.

NEW ENGLAND AGRICULTURE THREATENED BY UNEQUAL GRAIN SHIPPING RATES

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. BEERMANN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, December 20, 1963, at page A7787 in the Record, I discussed the problem of feed grain rates to New England, and my State of New Hampshire. Expressing my concern for New England agriculture because of unequal rates for feed grains, I included correspondence addressed to the chairman, General Freight Traffic Committee, Eastern Railroads, New York City.

Last winter, as a result of the combined efforts of New England leaders, lower feed grain shipping rates were announced. Although the reduction in rates amounting to \$2.20 a ton, was less than had been hoped for and was less than the situation and fairness required, this was at least a promised step in the right direction.

Now I have been advised that this announced relief has been rescinded and suspended. This disheartening development calls for immediate and concerted action. New England agriculture still constitutes an important part of our economy. In spite of shorter